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No. 6.

Sketches of Operations of General John C. Breckinridge.

By Colonel J. STODDARD JOHNSTON, of his Staff.

No. 1—*From Dalton, Georgia, to Hanover Junction, Virginia.*

[Our readers will receive with great interest the following sketches from the facile pen of the gallant soldier whose position on the staff gave him special opportunities for knowing whereof he affirms.]

While the Army of Tennessee was in winter quarters at Dalton, Georgia, General Breckinridge was, early in February, 1864, ordered to the command of the Department of Southwestern Virginia. He repaired to Richmond about the middle of that month, and there remained nearly a fortnight in consultation with the President and War Department, gathering information and receiving instructions concerning his new command. On the 5th of March he relieved General Samuel Jones, and formally assumed command of the Department of Southwestern Virginia, with headquarters at Dublin station, a depot on the Virginia and East Tennessee railroad a few miles west of New river. His new command included all of East Tennessee occupied by the Confederate forces and all of Virginia west of the Blue Ridge. Its great extent of exposed front, with

the small force for its protection, had always rendered it a precarious command, and it had proved disastrous to several of his predecessors. With the prospect of a trying ordeal before him as soon as the spring and summer campaign should open, General Breckinridge addressed himself at once to the work of placing his troops in an effective condition. To this end he made a tour of inspection to all the posts in Virginia on horseback, going in an inclement season as far as the Warm Springs, in Bath county, and traversing the line as far to the southwest as Abingdon, a trip of nearly four hundred miles. Wherever he went, the officers and men were animated by his presence, and new life was infused into all branches of the service.

About this time, the command of General Longstreet, which had wintered in East Tennessee, was transferred by rail to General Lee's army, thus uncovering his left and leaving it guarded only by cavalry. The scope of this sketch will not admit of a statement of the forces of the Department, further than to say that Vaughan's cavalry was on the East Tennessee front, Morgan's at Abingdon, Jenkins' at or near the Narrows of New River, and W. L. Jackson's on the extreme right at Warm Springs—the largest command not exceeding a good brigade; while the only infantry in the Department was Echols' brigade at Union Draught, in Monroe county, and Wharton's brigade at the Narrows of New River—twenty-six miles north of Dublin. Such was the disposition when information was received that General Crook was advancing in the direction of Dublin, with a strong force, from the Kanawha. General Breckinridge was engaged in preparations to receive him, when, on the evening of the 4th of May, he received a telegram from President Davis, saying that Siegel was advancing up the Shenandoah Valley on Staunton, and that the indications were that he (Breckinridge) would have to go at once to meet him, closing with directions to communicate with General Lee. A dispatch was sent General Lee the same night, informing him of the attitude in the Department and asking instructions. Early on the morning of the 5th of May—the day on which the battle of the Wilderness was fought—an answer was received from General Lee, directing General Breckinridge to march at once with all of his available force to the defence of Staunton. Orders having been previously sent to Generals Echols and Wharton to hold themselves in readiness to march at a moment's warning, General Breckinridge proceeded on the same day with his staff to the Narrows, and on the 6th the brigades of Wharton and Echols

took up their march for Staunton, at which place General Breckinridge arrived on the 9th—the last of the troops reaching there on the 11th. Immediately on his arrival he proceeded to organize to meet Siegel. The reserves of Augusta were called out, under Colonel John H. Harmon, numbering several hundred men, and the cadets of the military institute at Lexington, two hundred strong. These reported promptly; and General Breckinridge, learning that Siegel was proceeding up the Valley, determined to march to attack him, instead of standing on the defensive. Accordingly on the morning of the 13th he left Staunton with the forces named, camping that night twenty miles from Staunton. Next day he advanced to Lacy's spring, about thirty-five miles from Staunton, and went into camp, heavy rains falling almost continually both days. General Imboden, who was in front with a cavalry force of several hundred, reported the enemy in the neighborhood of New Market, ten miles off. After dark he visited General Breckinridge in person, and informed him that Siegel had occupied New Market. General Breckinridge then determined to attack him early in the morning before information of his advance could be received. Accordingly he put his troops in motion at one o'clock that night, and by daylight was in line of battle two miles south of New Market, his front being covered by Imboden's cavalry; Harmon's command being left as rear guard to the trains, a mile further in the rear. Siegel was apparently unconscious of the presence of infantry in his front, and was advancing confident of the capture of Staunton, with no obstruction except a small cavalry force. The situation will be taken in at a glance. Lee was being pressed at Spotsylvania; Crook was moving on the extreme left of the line from the Kanawha, apparently occupying Breckinridge with the defence of the important country of Southwest Virginia, where lay the salt works, the lead mines and the chief source of commissary supplies for Richmond; while Siegel was moving upon Staunton, the center of the line, the key to the Valley—which was apparently hopelessly indefensible. Besides its strategic importance, as the immediate left flank of General Lee's line, it was at that time the location of large hospitals for the Army of Northern Virginia and depots of commissary, quartermaster and ordnance stores. The importance, therefore, of success by Breckinridge will be appreciated.

To accomplish the defeat of Siegel's advance he had but a meagre force—the aggregate of infantry muskets being but thirty-one hundred. With this command, as the morning opened, he advanced

in line of battle; the cavalry of Imboden giving way to our infantry skirmishers and going to the right, with instructions to operate during the day as a cover to our right flank, and to endeavor, as the battle progressed, to gain the rear of Siegel and to burn the bridge across the Shenandoah near Mount Jackson, four miles from New Market. The topography of the country was as follows: The main turnpike passed down the Valley due north through the town of New Market, which lies rather in a depression, from which, both to the north and south, the road and country rise with a gradual ascent. The Massanutten mountain runs parallel with the road, at the distance of a mile or more, with an intervening wooded valley, interspersed with wet weather marshes, rendered by the rain then falling difficult for field operations, which gave Breckinridge's right good protection. On the left of the turnpike, and also parallel with it, and half a mile or more distant, runs the south branch of the Shenandoah, then swollen with the rains, a high ridge intervening and ascending by a gradual slope from the turnpike. General Breckinridge formed his line of battle with the right resting on the turnpike and his left on the summit of the ridge, placing the cadets in the center between the two brigades. He had but one line of battle in two ranks, with no reserves. It was not long before the skirmish line of the opposing forces became engaged, and after sharp firing the enemy fell back beyond New Market. Then ensued heavy artillery firing, which occupied the greater part of the morning. A reconnaissance showed that Siegel, finding he was opposed by infantry instead of cavalry, had abandoned the offensive and assumed the defensive. To this end he had retired with his main force to the crest of the hill about a mile north of New Market, where, with open ground in his front and his flanks well covered by the topography already described, he occupied an exceedingly strong defensive position. The rain was almost continuous during the day, and Breckinridge's forces had operated in wheat fields, which made it very laborious, particularly in handling artillery, beyond the reach of which Siegel had now placed himself. Notwithstanding the odds at which General Breckinridge now found himself, he determined to press to the attack. Putting his troops in motion, he passed beyond the village of New Market and began to ascend the open space intervening between himself and the enemy, composed of blue grass pastures intersected occasionally with stone fences. Seeing that his troops would be exposed to a heavy artillery fire unless there was some provision to prevent it, he boldly

threw ten pieces of artillery, which he moved in a gallop through New Market, upon the right of the pike and beyond the town, where a series of slight knolls offered good positions for firing without its endangering his own command. These pieces he directed in person, so arranging that as his line of battle advanced the artillery would limber up, gallop to the front and open fire-making, as it were, a skirmish line of artillery.

The boldness of the whole movement seemed to disconcert the enemy and to give a moral advantage to our side. The first firing of Siegel's artillery passed harmlessly over the heads of our troops, and when our artillery opened with a quartering fire upon his line it seemed to strike them with consternation; so much so, that it was afterwards ascertained that our bursting shells had stamped his reserves before the first line gave way. Our infantry advanced with wonderful steadiness, firing, and halting at intervals to load, with the steadiness of troops on dress parade; the precision of the cadets' drill serving well as a color guide for the brigades on either side to dress by. The whole scene was one such as is rarely witnessed, the eye taking in at one glance all the forces engaged, save that a good part of the Federal line had the advantage of a stone wall which served as a breastwork. Every man in Breckinridge's command was under his eye, while he, with his conspicuous form, was plain to the view of all his troops, who, though they had never fought with him, were proud of the fame he brought them as a commander and animated to heroism by his immediate presence. When his line had reached within two hundred yards of that of the enemy, the position was very critical, and for a time it seemed doubtful as to which would be the first to give way. At this juncture, Siegel's cavalry, on his left, were seen deploying for a charge down the pike. Breckinridge, with his keen eye, detected the manœuvre and ordered the guns to be double shotted with canister. It had scarcely been done before they were seen advancing in squadron front, when, coming in range, the artillery opened and the charge was repulsed disastrously—not more than a score reaching our lines, and they as prisoners, lying on the necks of their horses. This seemed to turn the tide of battle, for in a few moments Siegel's line gave way and our troops pressed to the crest only to see the enemy in full retreat. Pursuit was given as soon as our line could be reformed. Siegel made a brief stand at Rood's hill to cover his retreat, which he effected beyond the Shenandoah, burning the bridge as his rear guard passed over. Had Imboden succeeded in carrying out his

Lieutenant-General R. Taylor; The Mistakes of Gettysburg, by General James Longstreet; The Morale of General Lee's Army, by Rev. J. William Jones, D. D.; Torpedo Service in Charleston Harbor, by General Beauregard; Van Dorn, the Hero of Mississippi, by Major-General D. H. Maury; Vicksburg During the Siege, by Edward S. Gregory.

The list of Federal contributions is as follows:

Characteristics of the Army, by H. V. Redfield; Death of General John H. Morgan, by H. V. Redfield; General Meade at Gettysburg, by Colonel James C. Biddle; General Reynolds' Last Battle, by Major Joseph G. Rosengarten; Gregg's Cavalry at Gettysburg, by Major J. E. Carpenter; How Jefferson Davis was Overtaken, by Major-General Wilson; Morgan's Indiana and Ohio Raid, by Colonel J. E. McGowan; On the Field of Fredericksburg, by Hon. D. Watson Rowe; Recollections of General Reynolds, by General T. F. McCoy; Some Recollections of Grant, by S. H. M. Byers; The Baltimore Riots, by Frederic Emory; The Battle of Beverly Ford, by Colonel F. C. Newhall; The Battle of Shiloh, by Colonel Wills De Has; The Campaign of Gettysburg, by Major-General Alfred Pleasonton; The Capture of Mason and Slidell, by R. M. Hunter; The Draft Riots in New York, by Major T. P. McElrath; The Famous Fight at Cedar Creek, by General A. B. Nettleton; The First Attack on Fort Fisher, by Benson J. Lossing, LL. D.; The First Cavalry, by Captain James A. Stevenson; The First Great Crime of the War, by Major-General W. B. Franklin; The First Iron-Clad Monitor, by Hon. Gideon Welles; The First Shot Against the Flag, by Major-General S. W. Crawford; The "Old Capitol" Prison, by Colonel N. T. Colby; The Right Flank at Gettysburg, by Colonel William Brooke-Rawle; The Siege of Morris Island, by General W. W. H. Davis; The Union Cavalry at Gettysburg, by Major-General D. McM. Gregg; The Union Men of Maryland, by Hon. W. H. Purnell, LL. D.; The War's Carnival of Fraud, by Colonel Henry S. Olcott; Union View of Exchange of Prisoners, by General R. S. Northcott; War as a Popular Educator, by John A. Wright.

On the whole, it is a book worthy of a place in our libraries, and we hope that our friend Dr. George W. Bagby, the agent for Virginia, will meet with great success in selling it.

There are criticisms on some of the articles which we reserve for future review; but we must now express our regret that the compilers of the volume have put in General Wilson's miserable slander of President Davis, which, when first published, displayed gross ignorance, which has grown into something worse when persisted in after its complete refutation, both in the *Times* and in our *Papers*.





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TABLE OF CONTENTS.

Sketches of Operations of General John C. Breckinridge. By Colonel J. Stoddard Johnston, of his Staff.....	261
The Career of the Confederate Cruiser "Stonewall." By Captain Thomas J. Page, C. S. N.....	268
Report of Brigadier-General Wilcox of the Battle of Gettysburg.....	280
Confederate Losses During the War—Correspondence between Dr. Joseph Jones and General Samuel Cooper.....	281
Correspondence Concerning the Campaign of 1864.....	291
Official Correspondence of Confederate State Department.....	293
Some Corrections of Sherman's Memoirs By Colonel A. R. Chisolm.....	295
The Battle of Williamsburg—Narrative of Colonel Bratton, SIXTH South Carolina Regiment.....	296
Editorial Paragraphs.....	303
Book Notices.....	304

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instructions, the whole of Siegel's command would have been captured. As it was, Breckinridge captured five pieces of artillery, which were abandoned on the field, besides five or six hundred prisoners, exclusive of the wounded left on the field. His own loss, though not nearly so large as Siegel's, was several hundred killed and wounded. That night his soldiers slept on the battlefield, going into camp with cheers of victory such as had not been heard in the Valley since Stonewall Jackson had led them. In fact, everybody hailed Breckinridge as the new Jackson, who had been sent to guard the Valley and redeem it from the occupation of the enemy.

General Breckinridge modestly telegraphed General Lee the result of the battle and the same night received from him his own thanks and the thanks of the Army of Northern Virginia. Next day General Breckinridge issued an order thanking his brave soldiers, particularly the cadets, who, though mere youths, had fought with the steadiness of veterans.

Immediately following General Lee's congratulatory dispatch came another, directing General Breckinridge to transfer his command as speedily as possible to Hanover Junction. The battle had been fought on the 15th. One day being given the troops for rest, General Breckinridge gave orders for them to march to Staunton on the 17th, he going in advance to make better disposition for their transfer by rail from Staunton to Hanover Junction, a distance of near one hundred miles. The energy and promptness of his movement were such that, notwithstanding the inferior facilities for transportation at that time in the South, his whole command, including artillery, was at Hanover Junction on the 20th. The Augusta reserves being disbanded, the cadets returned to Lexington and Imboden left to watch the Valley.

J. STODDARD JOHNSTON.

The Career of the Confederate Cruiser "Stonewall."

By Captain THOMAS J. PAGE, C. S. N.

[The history of the Confederate vessels which, despite great obstacles, made themselves the terror and the scourge of the merchant marine of the United States, and forced her powerful navy to treat them with respect, would form a most interesting chapter in the true story of our great struggle. The career of the "Stonewall" was a glorious one, and our readers will thank us for the interesting narrative of the gallant Captain Page.]

In presenting this blurred picture of the "Stonewall," its imperfections should be attributed more to the shortcomings of the artist than to the absence of intrinsic worth in the subject represented.

The "Stonewall," a small twin-screw ironclad man-of-war, was built in France by the then most eminent constructor in the Empire. Her tonnage, twelve hundred; armament, one three-hundred pounder and two seventy-pounder guns, and crew about forty men.

Thus equipped, this little craft was seen one fair morning, after much negotiation, bearing the beautiful Confederate flag in place of the Danish, under which she had arrived from the region of the North sea. She was built with the knowledge and sanction of the late Emperor of France, and on the eve of her completion and readiness for delivery it was rumored that she was designed for the Confederate Government. Every ship then being built in Europe acquired this reputation. This rumor reached the ears of the Emperor, and he was officially informed, from high authority, that if this or any other such vessel should be permitted to leave France and fall into the possession of the Confederate Government, Mexico would be made untenable ground for French troops. However impotent such a threat may have been at that time, it had the desired effect. The Emperor was truly sensitive on this Mexican question. His policy there was unpopular in France, and he was not the man to long debate which of the two to choose when compliance with his word pointed to the right and self-interest to the left.

He ran no risk in laying an injunction on his friend and ship builder, that no vessels, under his construction, should pass into the hands of the Confederate Goverment. Whatever may have been *his* sentiments individually, policy constrained him to consult those of the French people, who may not have comprehended his aim and object in measures of such remote bearing. He had been

challenged to a game of "brag," in which he was no proficient. Astute, sagacious, far-seeing as he was, he could not see into his adversary's hand—he was bluffed—he revoked the permission he had given the constructor.

A similar diplomatic game had already been successfully played in England, in the case of the "Berkenhead rams"—as two vessels built on the Mersey were called; for a like issue had been made on the charge that they were designed for the Confederate Government. Had all the vessels charged to the Confederate account so actually belonged, that Government would have been the most formidable of all naval powers.

This case could not be so summarily disposed of in England, where all questions involving the rights of the people had been up to this time invariably adjudicated and decided according to law—the English people being pre-eminently conservative and law-abiding. This case *was* adjudicated, and all the powers of Government brought to the investigation in order to establish the charge that these vessels *were* built for the Confederate Government. The prosecution exerted a degree of energy unparalleled in the accumulation of evidence from every hole and corner; for there were consequences involved in the decision so momentous as not to be weighed in the balance with tens of millions of pounds sterling, or any other sum of money—the life of a nation was at stake.

Notwithstanding the disposition on the part of the Government, the earnest hope that the investigations of the Attorney-General would discover evidence to sustain the charge, that learned jurist, after a laborious search, was obliged to report that there was *no* evidence to show that the "Berkenhead rams" were built for the Confederate Government. This was too important a measure to be given up because the law was impotent, or even after the failure of the desperate efforts that had been resorted to. It was a case of life or death. If the law were not strong enough, some other course must be adopted. A *threat* was made—it would be a "casus belli" if the vessels in question should come into the possession of the Confederate Government. Impotent as was this threat, it prevailed. The Government succumbed, did what had never before been done—violate their own laws and take peaceable possession of the vessels; that the law could not condemn—the surest course by which to satisfy the complainants. This occurred previously to the action of the French Emperor—in the case before mentioned—an example he conceived worthy of his following.

The "Stonewall" had not, at this time, been baptized with the ever memorable name she subsequently bore, for she was not then a Confederate vessel; and, after much circumlocution, fell into the hands of the Danish Government, at the time, be it remembered, while Prussia and Austria were at war with Denmark. How this occurred is not pertinent to this narrative. We can only conjecture that Prussian spies were not so "wide-a-wake" as had been some other detectives. She was taken to Copenhagen under the direction of Danish naval officers, in order to witness and test her capacity as a "sea-going" vessel. Her performance in the North sea somewhat damped the ardor of these hardy seamen of the North, for they looked upon her as being more of the amphibia kind than of that class of vessels in which they had been accustomed to navigate the ocean.

It is true she had no very great respect for the heavy waves of the sea—she defied them—and if they did not permit her to gracefully ride over, she would go through them—protruding her long elephantine proboscis as the seas receded; and, rising from her almost submerged condition, would shake the torrent from her deck and again walk the water like a thing of life. She was not so dangerous. She was dangerous only when coming in conflict with one of her own kind; and even in this respect her reputation subsequently grew to vast proportions—far exceeding her capacity to do damage.

Arrived in Copenhagen, the report as to her sea-worthiness was not favorable. Her good qualities were ignored, and her disposition to act the part of the leviathan exaggerated. Moreover, the war in which Denmark was engaged was speedily brought to a close and the services of such a vessel were no longer required. In a word, that Government wished to get rid of her; and after much discussion, deliberation, investigation, &c., as to compliance with contract, it was finally determined to return the little craft to the builders. Their agent received her, and under charge of a Danish merchant captain and crew, she was dispatched to France.

Before leaving port a Confederate navy officer, who was curiously interested in all such naval architecture, had been often on board and inspected the vessel throughout—her armament, gun-gear, projectiles, naval stores, &c.—for in her construction, equipment, &c., she was quite unique. Pleased with the appearance of the vessel and all on board, he accepted the invitation of the builder's agent and took passage in her for France. She had scarcely got fairly

into the North sea when the weather, always boisterous in those latitudes in the winter season, became so bad that the captain conceived it prudent to put into Christiansand in Norway. Time was precious—for there were pressing obligations pending. Moreover, the captain and crew were to be discharged after the lapse of a limited time. Under these circumstances, the passenger, Mr. Brown, whose status on board was known only to the captain, urged him to "put to sea" on the least abatement of the gale. They had been out in blue water only a few hours when the vessel began to exhibit her powers of diving and coming up, after the fashion of the porpois, as if for the amusement of all on board. But the engineers and crew, not amused by these fantastic tricks, as they were neither ducks nor fish, petitioned the captain to "put back" into port. He, quite of their opinion, proposed the same to Mr. Brown; but the latter, though in a minority of one, declined to accede to the proposition of the majority—the rule of the sea being the reverse of that on land under republican government—and expressing his entire confidence in the "sea-worthiness" of the vessel, advised the captain to assure the engineers that turning back was always attended with danger; that there was bad luck in it; that the only danger lay in stopping the engines; that, in a word, the safety of the vessel and all on board depended entirely on the continuous movement of the engine, and the watchful care of it by the engineers.

She weathered that gale and arrived off the coast of France in clear weather and a smooth sea, where—a very singular coincidence—a steamer had taken up *her* anchorage, as though there had been some preconcerted arrangement for their meeting, for this was neither a port nor harbor. The agent of the builders, who had been up to this time the ostensible owner of the vessel, concluding it would be as well for him to land on the nearest point of the coast, took his departure, accompanied by the captain and crew, and went on shore, indulging the pleasing remembrance of an adventurous passage from the North sea, and the still more pleasing anticipation of the fruitful results he was about to realize.

This procedure would seem inhospitable and unkind towards the little craft that had borne them safely through the tempestuous weather of the North sea, thus to be left with one solitary man on board. But she had not long to remain in this unpeopled state. Boats came, crowded with men, from the steamer that lay close by, not only curious to see, but, perhaps, to minister to the wants of

the little craft in her deserted condition and to offer their services, which sailor men are prompt to render when duty calls; for "old salts" are proverbially kind, and will often risk their lives in an adventure. It turned out, however, that these visitors were not actuated solely by curiosity, for they consisted of officers and sailors prepared to cast their lot, to do their duty, under the Confederate flag, come weal or woe.

The "spar-deck" of the vessel presented, on that bright, sunny morn, a busy scene. The Confederate flag was "run up" at the peak, and the pennant at the main-mast head, when the commander, surrounded by the little band of officers and men, with caps in hand, pointed to the pure emblem at her peak, the token of the nationality of the vessel, and announced her "The Stonewall"—ever to be remembered name, given at the baptismal font of the Bay of Biscay.

Certain preliminaries, the "shipping" of men, assignment to specific duties, &c., having been gone through with, the deck was soon cleared of the various articles, so generously presented and as gratefully received from the steamer in company, which, having been stowed in their appropriate places, all was made snug for the cruise. The anchor was "hove up" under the inspiration of that joyous music, familiar to every sailor man, when the "boatswain" "calls all hands up—anchor for home"; for that is music, though it comes from nature's roughest cut, whose melody touches the soul and causes a responsive vibration of the tenderest chords of the heart.

The Bay of Biscay, whose normal condition is that of a boisterous sea, lay like a mirror, reflecting the bright rays of the sun; while balmy air, fanned into the gentlest of breezes by the "head-way" of the vessel, promised a happy entrance into the broad Atlantic. "Man proposes but God disposes." The night was not half spent ere the wind blew and the storm arose, and at the dawn of day the Stonewall was contending against a gale and heavy sea, well calculated to test the sea-worthiness of the little craft, and try the faith of the stoutest heart in her capacity to weather the storm. "Battened down," she was "water-tight," and, although she was no "Mother Cary's chicken" to gracefully dance on the crest of waves, would, in her lazy way, receive them over her bows, in cataract form, and give them free exit through the quarter ports to their mother ocean. Romantic as this may seem, though not comparable to the grandeur of the Falls of Niagara, it was neither exhilarating nor agreeable; for, apart from these too frequent and overwhelming

visitations, the officers and men began to look upon them as an imposition, in compelling them to appear on deck booted up to the knee. This round of *amusement* continued for three days to the monotonous *music* of the howling of the storm, and the contention of the sea with the skies; when the Stonewall's friend—the steamer that had befriended her at the anchorage, and now anxiously watched her performance in this terrific gale, in ordér to render other assistance if needed—telegraphed or signaled to know "how she was getting on"; for at times when the Stonewall would be in the "trough of the sea," partly submerged, there could be nothing seen of her. Knowing that her friend had some other important duty to discharge, with a heavy heart she replied, "all right, go ahead." The steamer went on her way; in her construction she was better constituted to resist the gale.

Only a few hours had elapsed when it was discovered that all was *not* right, that water was flowing into the captain's cabin from "abaft" in a very unusual manner; and, although men were set to bailing with buckets, the water gained on them. The storeroom for the men's clothing and other purser's effects was "abaft" the cabin, whence came the water. On opening this apartment a very discomforting spectacle met the eye. The caps over the two "rudder heads" were, by the force of the sea, as the Stonewall would occasionally dive beneath, being gradually lifted, the bolts yielding to the pressure, and the water gushing in every direction with great force. Had these blocks been suddenly lifted from their places there would have been opened two holes of ten inches diameter each below the "water line," apertures well calculated to endanger the safety of the vessel. A temporary repair was soon made by malling the blocks into their places, and the rush of water partially arrested.

This disaster rendered it necessary to "put into" the nearest port for repairs; although the great consumption of coals would alone have caused this course to be taken, as but little headway had been or could be made "in the face" of such a gale. No observations for determining the geographical position of the vessel had been made for more than two days. The sun, moon and stars—those beacons by which the mar'ner shapes his course mid the trackless ocean—were obscured by the lurid clouds that spanned the firmament. With exhausted bunkers and paralyzed engine the Stonewall would have been a prey to the raging storm; she was not capable of contending under sail alone against a severe gale. To run the risk of being wrecked on the iron-bound coast of Spain,

should the hoped for port not be reached, was preferable to being swamped in the Bay of Biscay. From the best data available, under the circumstances, an imaginary position was assigned the vessel and a course determined upon, which it was hoped would lead into some safe anchorage; for any port in a storm is a sailor's snug harbor.

Trusting to "that little cherub that sits up aloft and keeps watch on poor Jack," the helm was "put hard up," the close-reefed fore topsail "sheeted home," and the little craft went off before the wind like a thing of life and proudly said to the foaming seas, "*follow me.*" They *did* follow, as though frantic to get on board, but however given to taking them in over the bows, the Stonewall refused them admittance over the stern. To "scud" so small an ironclad so little above the water's edge was a dangerous evolution, but necessity makes its own laws, and this was one of those cases in which success proved the propriety of adopting the exceptional rule.

The coast of Spain lay ahead, but what part of it was the doubtful question soon to be solved. The pulsations of every heart beat quickly, and every eye was anxiously strained to descry, amidst the obscurity of the atmosphere, the crescent shaped contour of the coast, in which lay the port hoped for. Not more joyously did the cry of "land O!" find an echo in the hearts of Columbus' crew, than it did in the hearts of the Stonewall's on this occasion, when the anxiously looked for haven was seen directly ahead. None but the wearied mariner, after days of doubtful contest with the angry elements, can appreciate such deliverance from the dangers of the sea. This was the happy lot of the Stonewall, as she steamed into the snug harbor, leaving the raging of the gale behind, and dropped anchor in the placid, hospitable waters of Ferrol.

The usual visits of ceremony were made, and on calling on the Captain-General, who was an "old salt" holding the rank of Admiral, the character of the Stonewall was stated, and the object of her visit to have certain repairs made and to procure a supply of coals. Permission was politely granted, and authority to employ such hands from the dock-yard as might be required.

Ferrol is one of Spain's principal naval stations. I should not pass over the admission of the Stonewall into this port without expressing the obligation under which she lay for this very courteous, hospitable reception at the hands of the Captain-General and others, of which there remains a pleasing remembrance not soon to be forgotten.

Ship carpenters were immediately at work repairing damages, and at the same time a supply of coals was being taken on board. These operations had scarcely gotten fairly under way when it became known that there were other difficulties and dangers than those she had just escaped that beset the Stonewall. The intelligence of her arrival was not to be confined to Ferrol. There were here, as in every other part of Europe, *curious gentlemen*, whose avocation was to find out other people's business. The wires soon flashed the news of this arrival, under a novel flag, to the American Minister at Madrid, who forthwith protested to that Government that the admission of such a vessel—a pirate, an enemy to all mankind, a reckless rover of the sea—was an infringement of international law, a violation of the rights of nations, and that the Government should eject her from that port and prohibit her entering another, though she might go to the bottom—the only port the hospitalities of which she was entitled to. Now, it had been supposed that this unpretending little craft had come into the world all right; had been baptized in accordance with the strictest tenets of received public creed, and that she did not come under that class designated by such harsh epithets. She was aware that she was not exempt, in the eyes of some, from the imputation of having been conceived in sin, but, as she had been baptized in the purest of salt water, she intended to take upon herself the responsibilities of her sponsors, to strive hard to do her duty, and to this end she had sought while in distress the hospitable haven of Ferrol.

When a grave complaint is laid before a Government by a foreign minister, it is supposed to be actuated by important considerations and sustained by truthful arguments, in accordance with the dignity of the high position from which such complaint issues. It necessarily commands that respectful consideration demanded by international courtesy. The Government at Madrid was unwilling to believe that their trusted official, the Captain-General, had been delinquent in the discharge of the important duties assigned him, but it became necessary that they should be officially advised as to the status of this stranger in the port of Ferrol, thus denounced by such authority as a pirate and all the rest of it, for the pride of the nation would be compromised in extending hospitality to such an enemy to mankind.

The Captain-General was therefore required to furnish the Government with positive evidence as to the nationality of the Stonewall. There was no difficulty in doing this. The commanding

officer's presence was requested at the office of the Captain-General; the information required by the Government stated, with the pleasing assurance that *he* was satisfied as to the status of the Stonewall; but inasmuch as the American Minister had officially made grave charges against the vessel, it became the duty of the Government to place themselves in a position to rebut such charges, if erroneously made; or, if true, to withhold their national hospitality. The required evidence was at hand. The commanding officer presented his commission, showing the authority under which he acted, and the evidence that *he* was no pirate, nor was the vessel under his command a lawless rover of the sea. He went farther, in order to satisfy the inquiry of the Government—he exhibited a document, bearing the signature of authority—"his instructions"—stating what the Captain-General, an Admiral in the Spanish navy, very readily appreciated, "that his *instructions* were for *his* guidance *solely*, and that he would be recreant to his trust were he to submit them to the perusal of another." The Admiral considered the evidence sufficient to satisfy the requirements of his Government, and transmitted the same to Madrid. Orders came to permit the continuance of the repairs that had been suspended.

It is eminently proper here to state the ground on which rested the nationality, not only of the Stonewall, but of every other Confederate man-of-war, because it was not an uncommon assertion in high places, and eagerly embraced in some quarters, that inasmuch as these vessels under the Confederate flag had been neither built, nor fitted out, nor commissioned in some Confederate port, they were not, in view of international requirements, men-of-war; and consequently not entitled to the hospitality usually accorded to belligerents in neutral ports. It is sufficient to set at rest all quibbling as to the legal status of the Stonewall, to quote a few extracts from the very many authorities on this point, as laid down in the "British Counter Case" before the "Geneva Convention," and sustained by learned writers on international law: "Where either belligerent is a community or body of persons not recognized by the neutral power as constituting a sovereign state, commissions issued by such belligerent are recognized as acts emanating, not indeed from a sovereign government, but from a person or persons exercising *de facto* in relation to the war, the powers of a sovereign government.

"Public ships of war, in the service of a belligerent, entering the

ports or waters of a neutral, are, by the practice of nations, exempt from the jurisdiction of a neutral power. To withdraw or refuse to recognize this exemption without previous notice, or without such notice to exert or attempt to exert jurisdiction over any such vessel, would be a violation of a common understanding which all nations are bound by good faith to respect.

"A vessel becomes a public ship of war by being armed and commissioned—that is to say, formally invested by order or under the authority of a government with the character of a ship employed in its naval service, and forming part of its marine, for purposes of war. There are no general rules which prescribe *how, when or in what form* the commissioning must be effected, so as to impress on the vessel the character of a public ship of war. What is essential is that the appointment of a designated officer to the charge and command of a ship likewise designated, be made by the Government or the proper department of it, or under authority delegated by the government or department, and that the charge and command of the ship be taken by the officer so appointed. Customarily, a ship is held to be commissioned when a commissioned officer appointed to her has gone on board of her and hoisted the colors appropriated to the military marines."

The doctrine set forth in the above extracts clearly and incontrovertibly establish the claim of the Stonewall to the right and title of a Confederate man-of-war. This claim was immediately recognized by the Government at Madrid, so soon as counter representation was presented, and that international comity usually extended to belligerents was not denied the Stonewall. Neither was it withheld from the powerful man-of-war "Niagara," for she too had put into Ferrol, not "crippled" nor in want of repairs, but simply to pay a visit, to enjoy the hospitalities of the port, or, as was said, to look after the Stonewall. On the same errand arrived the man-of-war steamer "Sacramento" in the port of Corunna, situated in the same crescent of the coast and distant from the entrances to Ferrol only a few miles; so near that the departure of a vessel from the latter would be seen from the former.

The telegraph wires had been brought into requisition, and these two powerful men-of-war summoned to seek out and arrest the mad career of this "rebel rover." They *found* her, but what then? If actuated simply by curiosity to see and learn something of this novel specimen of naval architecture, their subsequent course would indicate that they had become perfectly satisfied. The Niagara,

after remaining a day or two in Ferrol, got under way and proceeded to Corunna, where both she and the Sacramento remained until after the departure of the Stonewall. This was assumed as *prima facie* evidence that they designed to attack the Stonewall immediately on her leaving Ferrol and having got beyond Spanish jurisdiction. Had the Niagara remained in Ferrol, she could not, under the international rule, have sailed until the lapse of twenty-four hours after the sailing of the Stonewall; but from Corunna she could have sailed on the same day and hour, for every movement of this little vessel was promptly telegraphed to the Niagara.

That this procedure is inadmissible in public law is clearly laid down by publicists, and that the international hospitality of the port of Corunna was in this instance violated is clearly deducible from the recognized doctrine as to the treatment of belligerents in neutral ports. It cannot be doubted that the Niagara and Sacramento, while lying in the port of Corunna, were making that neutral port a "base of naval operations"—a point of departure—where they lay in wait for and whence they designed to issue and attack the Stonewall on her going to sea. This is clearly prohibited to belligerents, and a violation of the hospitalities usually extended by the neutral power to the vessel in distress. These two men-of-war had not "put into port" wanting either repairs or provisions. A striking instance of the argument of "*meum et tuum*" is here illustrated. It was urged upon the Government at Madrid to eject the Stonewall from the port of Ferrol without repairs, without coal or provisions; while the Niagara and Sacramento, wanting neither, were not only to enjoy the hospitalities of the very near port, but be permitted to make that port a "base of naval operations." It seemed, however, that the "bases" was not suited to the "operations" for which these vessels had been summoned.

The repairs had been finally completed, the Stonewall "stripped" to lower-masts and "standing rigging," in order that neither spars nor running rigging, if shot away, should entangle her propellers—when the commanding officer called to make his acknowledgments to the Captain-General and others, for the hospitalities extended in the work of making her again seaworthy. It was kindly suggested, in view of the great odds against her, that the Stonewall should avail herself of the obscurity of the night to make her escape from the superior force supposed to be lying in wait in Corunna. The suggestion was the prompting of gallant, generous spirits, who inva-

riably sympathize with the weaker party in all conflicts. It was gratefully acknowledged, but the Stonewall had been built to fight, not to run—especially in this case, where the pursuer would have the speed of two to one of the pursued. Her boats, save one at the stern, had been sent on shore, lest they should obstruct the free use of the after-guns in time of action, for if sunk or captured the boats of her *kind friends* would be amply sufficient to rescue from a watery grave those who might be on the surface. The gallant spirits on board of the Stonewall were not dismayed in the face of this superior force; but trusting in the Omnipotent Ruler, and in the justice of the cause represented by that emblem at the "peak," they were of one mind to do their duty. The small sum of Government money on hand was sent on shore, and the officers sent, each one, his watch—a memento of his last gallant deeds—to some dear relative.

One bright spring morning, after the men had broken their fast, the Stonewall "put to sea," to face the momentous ordeal awaiting her, as it was supposed. She was followed by a very imposing Spanish frigate, whose object—doubtless coupled with a little curiosity to witness a fight—was to see that in the impending conflict between the belligerents there should be no violation of Spanish territory. A few minutes only served to put them both in blue water. Doubtless the anticipations of the frigate's officers were wrought to the highest pitch of interesting excitement; but they were destined to disappointment. When the Stonewall had passed beyond the "marine league" from the Spanish coast, the frigate fired a gun, from which the inference was that she had got beyond Spanish jurisdiction. Assuming an imaginary line between the headlands of the crescent-formed coast, the Stonewall "stood" on that line, to and fro, taking care not to approach either headland within three marine miles. The Niagara and Sacramento, lying in Corunna, were plainly in sight, with "steam up" and issuing from the steam pipe.

The sloping sides of the mountains, both north and south, presented a beautiful panoramic spectacle. Curiosity had led thousands of persons from both Corunna and Ferrol, as on some gala occasion, to assemble on these mountain slopes to witness the anticipated conflict; but they, too, were destined to disappointment, and as the day waned, convinced that no performance would come off, they retired to their homes, as it was reported, giving vent to their feelings in no measured terms, against those actors who were

to come from Corunna and without whom there could be no performance.

The dinner hour of the crew had come, while the Stonewall "stood" on the line she had taken back and forth, her screws slowly revolving, seeming to think there was a screw loose in Corunna. The men had been at "quarters"—that is, at their several stations in time of action—for some hours since an early breakfast, sitting, standing, walking by the side of their respective guns, chatting in low tones among themselves as cheerfully as though they were going into some home port. They ate their dinner at "quarters," for the distance between the Stonewall and her anxiously *looked for friends* from Corunna was too short to admit of the usual formalities of a set dinner. They imagined that after the settlement of the "slight unpleasantness," should any of them happen to "turn up" alive, they would be invited to a more formal dinner on board of the Niagara or Sacramento.

Thus passed the day, in hopeless anticipation. The spectators on the mountain side had disappeared, and the Spanish frigate, seeing there would be no violation to Her Majesty's territory, had returned to Ferrol, while the Stonewall, at the close of the day, abandoning all hopes of meeting her fellow-travelers of the sea, for they evidently desired none of her company, stood on her course for Lisbon. It became necessary to "put into" this port, though so near, because the Stonewall had taken on board in Ferrol only a limited quantity of coals. This was done in order to enable her to carry the "bow gun" as high as possible above the sea, and thereby be more efficient. She conceived the chances of victory greatly against her, and that she would not require coals if captured or sent to the bottom.

Arrived in Lisbon, and while in the act of taking on board a supply of coals, the Stonewall was honored with an official visit, the object of which was to ascertain when she was going to sea. The tone and nervous manner accompanying this inquiry were strongly indicative of an earnest desire that she should leave the port without delay. This Portuguese reception, in contrast with that of the Spanish, was very striking. The official was given to understand that the Stonewall had availed herself of the hospitalities of Lisbon *only* with the view of procuring coals, and that if he would kindly expedite the delivery of them on board she would hasten her departure. The truth was the authorities on shore had received information of the sailing of the Niagara and Sacramento from

Corunna, and, doubtless, the phantom of a naval engagement in the Tagus floated before their eyes. Before the setting of the sun on that mild, calm day, these two men-of-war appeared off the entrance to the port. This, in no small degree, added to the nervousness on shore. It had certainly the appearance, if not confirmation strong, of a pursuit, and seemed as though these vessels had not seen enough of the Stonewall. But this idea was dispelled by their coming into the port and anchoring. By so doing they subjected themselves to the international rule—prohibiting them from leaving the port until the lapse of twenty-four hours after the departure of the Stonewall. The weather was good, the sea was smooth, and it was argued that if they desired to meet the Stonewall in action they would have remained outside. Perhaps the weather was *too* good, the sea *too* smooth—conditions most favorable to the Stonewall, for in a heavy sea she could not have fought her guns at all, while the Niagara could have not only fought hers, but, towering above, could have run over her, *provided* she had not run “afoul” of her most salient point, the spur at the bow. It is not, however, my purpose to express an opinion as to how the Stonewall might have been destroyed.

The coaling of the vessel was not finished until after the night had set in, when the pilot of the port refused to take her out to sea, as he did not consider it safe to attempt doing so. Although the quiet of the night, for all was calm and still, had not brought peaceful rest to the slumbers of the Lisbon officials while these belligerents lay in their port, relief came at early dawn when they saw this troublesome little craft turn her bow towards the ocean and proceed down the river. On passing the Niagara and Sacramento (they had anchored about a mile below), the commander of the Stonewall was pleased to see on the “quarter-deck” of the Niagara his quondam shipmate and friend, bearing the rank of commodore. They had cruised in the West Indies on board of the same ship, the “old Erie,” when one was “sailing master,” the other a “green midshipman.” This midshipman, ere the end of the cruise, had seen some service, had passed some dangers during the three years spent in those boisterous latitudes. When the “Erie” was visited by that dire disease, the yellow fever, it pervaded the ship from cabin to forecastle, striking down the captain, most of the officers and forty of her crew in the course of a few days. The captain, ere he became too ill, gave this midshipman orders, with the appointment of an “acting lieutenant,” to take the ship into

Norfolk. This was safely done after a stormy passage, and anchoring off the navy hospital the sick were sent on shore. It may be asked, what this little episode has to do with the Stonewall? Nothing, save that this midshipman, after the lapse of years, became the commander of the craft whose short life and shortcomings are here treated of.

Taking an unceremonious leave of her *friends* lying quietly in the Tagus, for they seemed to think her unworthy their steel, the Stonewall stood out to sea, touched at Tanariffe, the most eligible point from which to cross the Atlantic, and filling up with coals, shaped her course so as to reach the latitude of the "trade winds" in the shortest possible time, where her sails would come into requisition. It was advisable to avail of those winds in order to economize coals, as she could not carry enough to steam the whole way across. It was also important to have enough on board for the emergency of "falling in" with any of those cruisers that it was supposed were keeping a sharp lookout for her. But the *look-out* could not have been very much on the alert, inasmuch as no man-of-war was seen throughout the entire passage to Havana, although the conclusion was inevitable that she must call either at Bermuda or Nassau to replenish her bunkers. That her departure from Lisbon was speedily made known in the United States cannot admit of a doubt. Her arrival at Ferrol had been made the subject of diplomatic correspondence with the Government at Madrid, and before her departure from Lisbon she was honored with a visit from a gentleman attached to the American Legation at Madrid, who availed himself of the privilege granted all persons wishing to visit the vessel, but omitted the observance of the usual courtesies on such occasions and presented his card at the "gang-way" from his boat, *only* when in the act of going on shore in company with many other visitors. He doubtless satisfied his curiosity, saw all that he cared to see, perhaps a little more, for there was nothing to conceal on board of the Stonewall, and boasted on shore of the gallantry of his conduct; though it was closely akin to that of a spy—a character recognized by the laws of war as entitled, if caught, to hanging; but the dignity of his position should have deterred him from the commission of an act of vulgarity. There was a low bravado in boasting of the accomplishment of a design in which there could be no detection, unbecoming the office he held and the gentleman he assumed to be. His acquaintance would, doubtless, have been politely acknowledged by the commanding officer, and quarters suited to his rank assigned him.

On the slow, monotonous passage across the Atlantic, nothing worthy of note occurred, save the appearance of a clipper-built bark, bound from Baltimore to Rio de Janeiro, laden with flour. She was under all sail, going rapidly through the water, with a free wind. There is but one object, either in nature or art, given to the eyes of man to behold more beautiful than the ship under "full sail." The French flag was hoisted at the "peak" of the Stonewall, and immediately the American flag was shown by the bark. When she had come within a suitable distance, the French flag was hauled down, the Confederate hoisted in its place, and a "nine-inch" shell thrown across her bow. The music of such a projectile, flying through the air with ignited fuse, is not that of the *Æolian harp*. With "flowing sheets," the bark "came up into wind" as gracefully as are the movements of the swan when gliding through the waters of a placid lake. Here was presented an unpleasant conflict of duty and inclination. To destroy such a craft was repulsive; and yet duty might demand it. The commander of the Stonewall would gladly avail himself of a justifiable excuse to avoid such an alternative. The captain of the bark was brought on board. His troubled appearance may be more easily imagined than described. In great anguish he declared that he had been in that trade many years, and this was the first time he had brought his wife and little daughter with him. Here was an appeal that added to the embarrassment of the situation, not easily disregarded. The Stonewall had no accommodations for such passengers, and moreover this was not the kind of game she was in pursuit of. The captain of the bark was given to understand that a bond would be required of him for the release of his vessel, and that he should assure his owners they were indebted solely to his wife and daughter for the rescue of their vessel and cargo from the flames. A heavier oppression was never lifted from the human breast, and his countenance beamed with all the kindly feelings the human heart is susceptible of. He begged that he might be allowed to present to the Stonewall some of the luxuries with which his pantry was supplied. His offer was gratefully acknowledged, but declined. The bark went on her way rejoicing, and the Stonewall pursued her course to Nassau, a convenient port at which to procure coals.

She did not enter the harbor, but received the coals outside—an unpleasant indication, for there were rumors on shore, though not authentic, which made the Stonewall an unwelcome visitor. She

was permitted to take on board coals sufficient for the passage to Havana.

Arrived at Havana, the usual visits of ceremony made, the vessel was admitted to the customary hospitalities of the port, with no limitation as to the time she would be permitted to remain. Mark the difference of the Stonewall's reception here and that at Nassau! The sad intelligence here received, which I need not describe, was not to be questioned, and the feelings of both officers and men may be imagined, but not expressed.

The little craft that had so bravely breasted the storms of tempestuous seas, to do her duty in a holy cause, found herself a useless hulk, an incumbrance.

The political state of affairs in the Confederacy had not been as yet officially announced to the authorities of Cuba. When that shall have been done, the Stonewall would no longer be entitled to the flag she so proudly bore off Ferrol.

Negotiations were entered into with the authorities of Havana, which resulted in the acceptance of the Stonewall as a present, subject to the decision of the Queen of Spain. By the terms of the agreement, there was advanced to the Stonewall the sum of \$16,000 in order to pay the officers and crew what was due them, as set forth in the books of the paymaster. A much larger sum would have been advanced, and was suggested, but her commander was in honor bound to the crew for the payment of what was due them—the vessel being fully responsible—and he would receive nothing more.

An Admiral, with his attendant staff of officers, came on board to formally receive the Stonewall. The delicacy and courtesy of this distinguished officer on this occasion will ever be remembered. He appreciated the painful position of the commanding officer, and before proceeding to the details involved, remarked to him, "My barge is at your service, and Captain —— will attend you to the arsenal, and thence to your quarters on shore." Officials of some governments would have avoided a Confederate officer at that time as they would have done a contagious pestilence. Captain —— performed the duty assigned him with all that courtesy for which the Spanish race has ever been pre-eminently distinguished.

Thus terminated the career of the Stonewall under the Confederate flag.

What was her ultimate fate? It is said she came into the possession of the United States Government, was sold to the Japanese Government, and was wrecked during a severe typhoon while lying at anchor.

It may be proper to mention, as a pertinent episode in the last days of the Stonewall, that among the arrivals which soon followed her into Havana was an imposing looking American man-of-war steamer. She anchored only a very short distance off. One morning a letter was handed to the commander of the Stonewall, which bore the signature of an old acquaintance—the captain of the man-of-war close by. The purport of this communication was suggesting the propriety of a surrender of the Stonewall to him. Its receipt was promptly acknowledged, and although its kind suggestions were fully appreciated, they were politely declined.

The Stonewall was in a position to present herself to the Captain-General, or, through him, to the Queen of Spain; but she was not the craft to surrender on demand or solicitation.

Report of Brigadier-General Wilcox of the Battle of Gettysburg.

HEADQUARTERS WILCOX'S BRIGADE,
BUNKER HILL, VA., July 17, 1863.

Major THOMAS S. MILLS, Assistant Adjutant-General:

Sir—I respectfully submit the operations of my brigade in the recent engagements with the enemy near Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, in the following report:

The division having encamped for three days at Fayetteville, on the morning of July 1st moved forward on the Chambersburg and Gettysburg turnpike; at two and a half P. M. came within sight and hearing of a distant artillery fire between our own and the enemy's forces near the latter place.

The division filed off to the right of the road and halted in the woods for an hour; then, resuming the march towards Gettysburg, one and a half miles, my brigade filed off to the right of the road in a perpendicular direction, and marched in this direction near one mile; and being joined by a battery of artillery, the command halted and remained here during the night on picket, beyond and to the rear and at right angles to the right flank of the remainder of the division in line in front.

At 7 A. M. the following morning the brigade rejoined the division, then in front, and advanced, bearing to the right for the purpose of taking position in line of battle—the Major-General Commanding indicated to me the position to be occupied by my brigade.

The right of my line, as thus directed, was thrown forward; resting against a heavy and thick woods, and ran thence back obliquely to the rear across an open field, terminating at a stone fence, one hundred yards from the right of Perry's brigade—the ground occupied by the left of my line being lower than the right, and ascending slightly in the latter direction.

In front of my line in the open fields were several farm houses, with barns, orchards, and the usual enclosures. The enemy's pickets were seen about these, and some six or seven hundred yards distant.

Not knowing whether the woods, against which the right of my line was to rest, was occupied by the enemy, the Tenth Alabama regiment (Colonel Forney) was ordered to occupy the woods, and the Eleventh Alabama regiment (Colonel Sanders) formed in line in the open field to the left of the Tenth.

The regiments, being preceded by skirmishers, were ordered to advance—the Eleventh to its position in line in rear of a fence, and the Tenth to keep on a line with the Eleventh, to protect it from the enemy's fire, should he be found in the woods—the remaining regiments being held in rear till it should be ascertained if the enemy were in the woods.

The Eleventh advanced more easily than the Tenth, being in the open field. Having moved forward about three hundred yards, this regiment received a heavy volley of musketry on its right flank and rear from the enemy, concealed behind ledges of rock and trees in the woods on its right. The Tenth Alabama moved forward promptly, and soon encountered a strong line of skirmishers. These were driven back upon their supports—two regiments of infantry—the Third Maine and the First New York sharpshooters.

A spirited musketry fight ensued between the Tenth Alabama and these two Federal regiments; and having continued for some ten or fifteen minutes, Colonel Forney gave the command to charge, and led his regiment in person. This broke the enemy's line, and they fled precipitately from the woods, leaving twenty or twenty-five dead men, and twice that number wounded and prisoners. In this affair, so creditable to the Tenth Alabama and its gallant colonel, this regiment lost ten killed and twenty-eight wounded; in the Eleventh Alabama one officer, Major Fletcher, severely wounded, and seventeen men wounded—six or eight severely.

The brigade now (nine A. M.) took its position in line of battle

on the right of the division, and the extreme right of the army at this time. The Tenth Alabama occupied the woods to the right, and at right angles to the remainder of my line for the safety of my right flank.

From this till two P. M. nothing occurred, save desultory firing between skirmishers. About this time troops were seen filing past my right flank, and soon McLaws' division was formed in line at right angles to my line, Barksdale's brigade being near mine. McLaws' troops formed in line across a road running parallel to my front, and into the Emmettsburg road five hundred yards in his front; from this intersection the road continued on to Gettysburg in a direction parallel to the front of Anderson's division. McLaws' troops had not been in position long when the enemy opened fire upon them from two batteries in the open field in front.

A battery was placed in position in the edge of the woods occupied by the Tenth Alabama regiment and responded to this fire; other batteries were soon placed in position further to our right on McLaws' front. Other and more distant batteries of the enemy to my left and front engaged in this artillery fight. This cannonading continued until 6.20 P. M., when McLaws' troops advanced to the attack.

My instructions were to advance when the troops on my right should advance, and to report this to the division commander in order that the other brigades should advance in proper time. In order that I should advance with those on my right, it became necessary for me to move off by the left flank, so as to uncover the ground over which they had to advance. This was done as rapidly as the nature of the ground, with its opposing obstacles, stone and plank fences, would admit. Having gained four hundred or five-hundred yards to the left by this flank movement, my command faced by the right flank and advanced. This forward movement was made in an open field, the ground rising slightly to the Emmettsburg turnpike, two hundred and fifty yards distant.

Before reaching this road, a line of the enemy's skirmishers along a fence parallel to the road were encountered and dispersed. The fence being crossed, my men advanced to the road in which infantry in line of battle were formed. A brisk musketry fight for a few minutes followed, when the enemy gave way; not, however, till all save two pieces of a battery that was in the road had been removed. These fell into our hands, the horses having been killed.

On the far side of the pike the ground was descending for some-

six hundred or seven hundred yards; at the bottom of this descent was a narrow valley, through which ran a rocky ravine or stream fringed with small trees and undergrowth of bushes. Beyond this the ground rose rapidly for some two hundred yards, and upon this ridge were numerous batteries of the enemy. This ridge to my right rose into a succession of higher ridges or spurs of mountains, increasing in height to the right, but to the left gradually descending.

When my command crossed the pike and began to descend the slope, they were exposed to an artillery fire from numerous pieces, both from the front and from either flank. Before reaching the ravine at the foot of the slope, two lines of infantry were met and broken and driven pell-mell across the ravine. A second battery of six pieces here fell into our hands. From the batteries on the ridge above referred to, grape and cannister were poured into our ranks. This stronghold of the enemy, together with his batteries, was almost won, when still another line of infantry descended the slope in our front at a double quick to the support of their fleeing comrades and for the defence of the batteries. Seeing this contest so unequal, I dispatched my Adjutant-General to the division commander to ask that support be sent to my men, but no support came.

Three several times did this last of the enemy's lines attempt to drive my men back, and were as often repulsed. The struggle at the foot of the hill, on which were the enemy's batteries, though so unequal, was continued for some thirty minutes. With a second supporting line the heights could have been carried. Without support on either my right or left, my men were withdrawn to prevent their entire destruction or capture. The enemy did not pursue, but my men retired under a heavy artillery fire and returned to their original position in line and bivouacked for the night, pickets being left on the pike.

Thus ended the engagement of the 2d instant. Two guns, with their caissons, were taken on the turnpike; six guns were taken three hundred or four hundred yards beyond the road; one line of infantry was broken and dispersed at the road; two other lines were also broken and thrown back before reaching the foot of the hill; a line which descended the hill on which their rear-most line of batteries were posted, was repulsed several times in their efforts to drive my men back; many of the enemy were killed and wounded, and about *one hundred* prisoners taken.

In the engagement of this day I regret to report a loss of *five hundred and seventy-seven killed, wounded and missing*. Among the seriously wounded and known to be in the hands of the enemy, I may mention Colonel Forney, Tenth Alabama regiment. This officer, not yet well of a wound received at Williamsburg, received a flesh wound in the arm and chest while charging a line of the enemy on the turnpike, but he still pressed onward and soon his right arm was shattered. He yet refused to quit the field and fell with a wound in the foot, in the ravine near the rear-most lines of the enemy. Colonel Pinckard, Fourteenth Alabama, had rejoined his regiment but two days before this battle, having been absent by reason of a severe wound received at Salem church, had his left arm badly broken; Captain Smith, Ninth Alabama, severe wound through the body (entitled to the promotion of lieutenant-colonel); Captain Brandigan, Eighth Alabama, leg broken. These four were left, not being able to bear transportation.

Colonel Sanders, Eleventh Alabama, and Major Fletcher, of same regiment, each received severe wounds. Captain King, Ninth Alabama (entitled to promotion of colonel), had a finger shot off.

It will be seen that of *five* of my regimental commanders *four* were wounded in this first day's battle. Of my two couriers, one—Private Ridgeway, Eleventh Alabama regiment—was killed, and the other—Private Brundridge, Ninth Alabama—severely wounded.

The conduct of my men and officers was in all respects creditable.

After the wounding of four regimental commanders, the other officers who succeeded to command acted with great gallantry and energy. Among these I may mention Lieutenant-Colonel Tayloe, of the Eleventh Alabama regiment; Lieutenant-Colonel Shelley, of the Tenth Alabama, and Lieutenant-Colonel Broome, Fourteenth Alabama.

With reference to the action of the 3d instant, I beg to report that early in the morning, before sunrise, the brigade was ordered out to support artillery under the command of Colonel Alexander—this artillery being placed along the Emmettsburg turnpike and on ground won from the enemy the day before. My men had had nothing to eat since the morning of the 2d, and had confronted and endured the dangers and fatigues of that day; they nevertheless moved to the front to the support of the artillery, as ordered.

The brigade was formed in line parallel to the Emmettsburg turnpike and about two hundred yards from it—artillery being in

front, much of it on the road, and extending far beyond either flank of the brigade.

My men occupied this position till about 3.20 P. M. Our artillery opened fire upon the enemy's artillery and upon ground supposed to be occupied by his infantry. This fire was responded to promptly by the enemy's artillery, and continued with the greatest vivacity on either side for *one hour*. In no previous battle of the war had we so much artillery engaged, and the enemy seemed not to be inferior in quantity.

During all this fire my men were exposed to the solid shot and shell of the enemy, but suffered comparatively little, probably less than a dozen men being killed and wounded. The brigade (Kemper's) lying on my right suffered severely. Our artillery ceased to fire after about one hour; the enemy continued to fire for awhile after ours had ceased. I do not believe a single battery of the enemy had been disabled so as to stop its fire.

Pickett's division now advanced and other brigades on his left. As soon as these troops rose to advance, the hostile artillery opened upon them. These brave men (Pickett's) nevertheless moved on, and, as far as I saw, without wavering.

The enemy's artillery opposed them on both flanks and directly in front, and every variety of artillery missile was thrown into their ranks. The advance had not been made more than twenty or thirty minutes before three staff officers, in quick succession (one from the Major-General Commanding division), gave me orders to move to the support of Pickett's division.

My brigade, about twelve hundred in number, then moved forward in the following order from right to left: Ninth, Tenth, Eleventh, Eighth and Fourteenth Alabama regiments. As they advanced, they changed direction slightly to the left so as to cover in part the ground over which Pickett's division had moved. As they came in view on the turnpike, all of the enemy's terrible artillery (that could bear on them) was concentrated upon them from both flanks and directly in front, and more than on the evening previous.

Not a man of the division that I was ordered to support could I see, but as my orders were to go to the support, on my men went down the slope until they came near the hill upon which were the enemy's batteries and entrenchments. Here they were exposed to a close and terrible fire of artillery. Two lines of the enemy's infantry were seen moving by the flank towards the rear of my left.

I ordered my men to hold their ground until I could get artillery to fire upon them. I then rode back rapidly to our artillery, but could find none near that had any ammunition. After some little delay, not getting any artillery to fire upon the enemy's infantry that were on my left flank, and seeing none of the troops that I was ordered to support, and knowing that my small force could do nothing save to make a useless sacrifice of themselves, I ordered them back. The enemy did not pursue. My men, as on the day before, had to retire under a heavy artillery fire. My line was re-formed on the ground they occupied before they advanced.

The casualties of the brigade on this day amounted to *two hundred and four killed, wounded and missing.* In the engagement of the 2d instant, my command inflicted severe loss upon the enemy; three of his infantry lines were broken and driven from the field; a fourth line was repulsed several times in their efforts to drive my men back. In the second day's (3d instant) engagement, none of the enemy's infantry were encountered in the open field. It was not until my brigade had reached the ravine, beyond which was the ridge on which were the enemy's rifle pits and batteries, that they met infantry, and here they were engaged but for a few minutes, without probably inflicting much, if any loss, upon their infantry. This day my men acted with their usual gallantry, though they accomplished but little. The regimental commanders were active and zealous in commanding and directing their men.

Lieutenant-Colonel Herbert, of the Eighth; Lieutenant-Colonel Shelley, of the Tenth; Lieutenant-Colonel Tayloe, of the Eleventh, and Captain King, are all deserving of especial praise—the latter had lost a finger the day before. Captain May, Ninth Alabama, had also been wounded on the 2d, but remained with his company during the battle of the 3d. There were many acts of personal gallantry among both men and officers during the two days' battle.

The entire loss of the two days' battle was *seven hundred and seventy-seven killed, wounded and missing.* Of this number *two hundred and fifty* are missing, of whom *fourteen* are officers. Of this number nearly all are supposed to be killed or wounded. Most of the field upon which the brigade fought remained both nights in the possession of the enemy. It is believed that few, if any, not wounded, were taken prisoners.

To my staff, Captain W. E. Winn, Assistant Adjutant-General, and Lieutenant Lindsay, Aid-de-Camp, I am indebted for valuable services rendered on the field during both days, their duties fre-

quently requiring them to be under the severest musketry firing. The former was bruised by the explosion of a shell near him on the second day and thrown from his horse by it.

I am, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

C. M. WILCOX,
Brigadier-General Commanding, &c.

Two men, one of the Eighth and the other of the Tenth Alabama regiment, were wounded on the 12th instant near Saint James College, Maryland, thus making my loss *seven hundred and seventy-nine* while beyond the Potomac.

C. M. WILCOX, *Brigadier-General.*

Confederate Losses During the War—Correspondence between Dr. Joseph Jones and General Samuel Cooper.

The following correspondence explains itself. Dr. Joseph Jones, the first Secretary of the Southern Historical Society, is distinguished for his pains-taking research as well as for his high scientific attainments.

General Cooper, the able and efficient Adjutant and Inspector-General of the Confederacy, was, of course, very high authority on the questions discussed in this correspondence. It is a sad reflection that the General was not spared until the more liberal policy, which now prevails at the War Department, would have allowed him to inspect the records of his old office. Those records *will be* thoroughly sifted, and the story they tell given to the world; but in the meantime the carefully collated figures of this correspondence will be of interest and value.

NEW ORLEANS, August 2d, 1869.

General S. COOPER, *Alexandria, Virginia:*

Dear Sir—You will please excuse the liberty which I take in trespassing upon your valuable time.

I have recently been preparing for the Southern Historical Society a paper upon the losses of the Confederate army from battle, wounds and disease during the civil war of 1861-5.

The following general results of my investigation are most respectfully submitted to you for examination and criticism:

Killed, Wounded and Prisoners of the Confederate Army during the War of 1861-5.

YEAR.	KILLED.	WOUNDED.	PRISONERS.
1861.....	1,315	4,054	2,772
1862.....	18,582	68,659	48,300
1863.....	11,876	51,313	71,211
1864... }	22,000	70,000	80,000
1865...}			
Total.....	53,773	194,026	202,283

If the deaths from disease be added the sum total will represent the entire loss. The returns of the field and general hospitals are known for 1861 and 1862.

Confederates killed in battle, 1861-2,	-	-	-	19,897
Deaths caused by wounds in field hospital,	-	-	-	1,623
Deaths caused by wounds in general hospital,	-	-	-	2,618
Deaths caused by disease in field hospital,	-	-	-	14,597
Deaths caused by disease in general hospital,	-	-	-	16,741
Total deaths in the Confederate States army, 1861-2,	-	-	-	55,476
Total wounded in Confederate States army, 1861-2,	-	-	-	72,713
Total prisoners in Confederate States army, 1861-2,	-	-	-	51,072
Total discharged in Confederate States army, 1861-2,	-	-	-	16,940
Total wounded, prisoners and discharged, 1861-2,	-	-	-	140,725

If it be fair to assume that the total mortality of 1863-1864, was fully equal to that of 1862, then the total deaths in the Confederate army, 1861-5, was at least 160,000, exclusive of the deaths in the Northern prisons, which would swell the number to near 185,000; and if the deaths amongst the discharged for wounds and disease and amongst the sick and wounded on furlough be added, the grand total of deaths in the Confederate army during the entire war did not fall far short of 200,000. According to this calculation, the deaths from disease were about three times as numerous as those resulting from the casualties of battle.

The available Confederate force capable of active service in the field did not during the entire war exceed six hundred thousand (600,000) men. Of this number, not more than four hundred thousand (400,000) were enrolled at any one time; and the Confederate States never had in the field more than two hundred thousand (200,000) men capable of bearing arms at any one time, exclusive of sick, wounded and disabled. If the preceding calculation be correct, we have the following figures illustrating the losses of the Confederate armies during the war:

Confederate forces actively engaged, 1861-5, 600,000. Total deaths in Confederate States army, 200,000. Losses of Confederate States army in prisoners, 1861-5, which may be considered as total losses, on account of the policy of exchange by United States, 200,000. Losses of Confederate States army by discharges, disability and desertion, 100,000.

If this calculation, which is given only as an approximation, be correct, one-third of all the men actively engaged on the Confederate side were either killed outright upon the field, or died of disease and wounds; another third of the entire number were captured and held for an indefinite period in Northern prisons, and of the remaining two hundred thousand at least one-half were lost to the service by discharges and desertions.

At the close of the war the available force of the Confederate States numbered scarcely *one hundred thousand effective men*. The resolution, unsurpassed bravery and skill with which the Confederate leaders conducted this contest is shown by the fact that, out of 600,000 men in the field, about 500,000 were lost to the service.

At the close of the war the 100,000 Confederates were opposed to one million (1,000,000) Federal troops. Your approval or disapproval of this calculation is most respectfully solicited.

The distinguished ability with which you discharged the responsible and arduous duties of Adjutant-General of the Confederate army, qualifies you above every other officer of the late Confederate States to decide how far such calculations may approach to accuracy.

With great respect and the highest esteem,
I have the honor to be, your obedient servant,

JOSEPH JONES, M. D.,

*Secretary and Treasurer Southern Historical Society, Professor of Chemistry,
Medical Department, University of Louisiana.*

NEAR ALEXANDRIA, VA., August 29th, 1869.

Dr. JOSEPH JONES, Secretary and Treasurer "Southern Historical Society,"
New Orleans, Louisiana:

Dear Sir—I have had the honor to receive your kind and interesting letter of the 2d instant and beg you will accept my best thanks for same.

I have closely examined your several statements in respect to the Confederate military forces during the late war, as well as the casualties incident thereto, and I have come to the conclusion, from my general recollection, which those statements have served to enlighten, that they must be regarded as nearly critically correct.

Most of the returns from which you most probably have derived your information, must have passed through the files of my office in the Confederacy, and if reference could be made to all the records of that office, they would, I have no doubt, enable you to give nearly a complete history of the strength and operations of our armies in detail.

The files of that office which could best afford this information were carefully boxed up and taken on our retreat from Richmond to Charlotte, North Carolina, where they were unfortunately captured, and, as I learn, are now in Washington, where they are arranged in a separate building, with other records appertaining to the Confederacy. I presume that by proper management reference might be had to them. Indeed, I had at one time contemplated to make an effort to renew my acquaintance with those records by a personal application to the authorities in Washington; but I finally abandoned the idea. * * * It would afford me much pleasure to furnish you with the information in the tabular form you have suggested, but it would be quite impossible for me to do this without reference to those records. I can only state from general recollection that during the two last years of the war the monthly returns of our armies received at my office exhibited the present active force in the field nearly one-half less than the returns themselves actually called for, on account of absentees by sickness, extra duty, furlough, desertions, and other casualties incident to a campaign life.

These returns were kept with great secrecy, in order to prevent the enemy from becoming acquainted with our weakness. Another disadvantage was also felt in the limited number of our suitable weapons of war, and I believe it will be found on examination that the most approved and tried arms in the hands of our troops were captured from the enemy in battle. These, and many other incidents of a like nature, if brought to light, would exhibit the greatest disparity between the two opposing forces, if not in the numbers of troops, as you have exhibited in your tables, at least of sufficient importance to satisfy every unprejudiced mind that we were constantly laboring, throughout the contest, under every possible disadvantage.

I perceive by the printed prospectus of the "Southern Historical Society," which you were so kind as to send me, that time must be given in collecting the necessary facts which are to be the basis of this important work before it shall be prepared and given to the public. To this end it will be my endeavor to contribute from time to time such facts as I may be enabled to collect and as may be deemed of consequence by the Society.

With great respect, I have the honor to be,
Your obedient servant,

S. COOPER.

Correspondence Concerning the Campaign of 1864.

So many of the official reports, letters, telegrams, &c., concerning Lee's masterly campaign of 1864 were destroyed, that the records of that year are very imperfect, and even fragments are of great value. We shall, therefore, continue from time to time to give such letters, reports, telegrams, &c., as we have or may be able to procure. The following have never been published, and are worthy of going into the record:

Letter from General Wade Hampton.

SETH CAMPBELL'S, May 21st, 1864—9.30 P. M.

To Major-General BRECKINRIDGE:

General—I met the enemy near Wright's tavern, two and one half miles from Milford, where they showed themselves in some force. I think about five regiments were seen. At the Poorhouse I drove them back, but they are still on this side of the river. I shall occupy the road from Milford to the Junction to-night, and will advise you of any movement. General — is near Panola, his left resting on this road. Scouts just in say that only six of Sheridan's men crossed the Pamunkey, and that they went to Fredericksburg. The raiding party who burned Hanover Courthouse went down towards Charles City. This party between here and Milford could be cut off, unless they are much larger than I suppose. I am sure that I could burn the bridge behind them, and an attack in front would destroy them. Could you send any more troops up to effect this? I know this county thoroughly, and I think that a good blow might be struck. I shall be here to-night. If any of the cavalry come to the Junction, let them know that I am here.

Yours, very respectfully,

WADE HAMPTON, *Major-General.*

HEADQUARTERS LONGSTREET'S CORPS,
8 P. M.—May 30, 1864.

Major-General J. A. EARLY, Commanding Second Corps:

General—General Field reports having come upon an entrenched line of the enemy, and owing to that circumstance, and the approach of darkness, I have suspended his movement and have drawn my whole line back to the left again, so as to connect with General Breckinridge, between whom and the left of my line a very wide gap had been made.

I am, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

R. H. ANDERSON, *Major-General.*

Letter from General R. E. Lee.

HEADQUARTERS ARMY NORTHERN VIRGINIA,
2d June, 1864—8 P. M.

Honorable SECRETARY OF WAR, *Richmond, Va.:*

Sir—Yesterday afternoon the enemy's cavalry were reported to be advancing by the left of our line toward Hanover Courthouse and Ashland. General Hampton, with Rosser's brigade, proceeded to meet them. Rosser fell upon their rear, charged down the road towards Ashland, bearing every thing before him. His progress was arrested at Ashland by the entrenchments of the enemy, when he changed his direction, and advanced up the Fredericksburg railroad.

General W. H. F. Lee came up at this time with a part of his division, and a joint attack was made. The enemy was quickly driven from the place and pursued toward Hanover Courthouse till dark.

During the afternoon, General Fitz. Lee was forced to retire from Old Cold Harbor, on our extreme right, and as it was evident that the enemy was moving in that direction, our own line was extended accordingly—General Hoke occupying the extreme right.

The enemy attacked in heavy force and succeeded in penetrating between Hoke and Anderson, where there was an interval in our line, causing the right of Anderson and the left of Hoke to fall back a short distance. General Hoke subsequently recovered his position, and General Anderson's right assumed one a short distance in rear of that it first occupied.

This morning the enemy's movement to our right continuing, corresponding changes were made in our line, Breckinridge's command and two divisions of General Hill being placed on the right. General Early, with Ewell's corps and Heth's division, occupied our left, and was directed to endeavor to get upon the enemy's right flank and drive down in front of our line. General Early made the movement in the afternoon, and drove the enemy from his entrenchments, following him until dark. While this attack was progressing, General Hill reinforced Breckinridge with two brigades of Wilcox's division, and dislodged the enemy from Turkey Hill, in front of our extreme right.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

R. E. LEE, *General.*

Official : C. MARSHALL,
Lieutenant-Colonel and Aid-de-Camp.

Official Correspondence of Confederate State Department.

[CONTINUED].

Letters from Honorable J. P. Holcombe.

MONTREAL, June 16, 1864.

Hon. J. P. BENJAMIN, *Secretary of State, C. S. A.:*

Sir—I have very little to communicate since my last dispatch. Some ten or twelve more men have been sent on to take the boat which leaves for Bermuda next week. It is apparent, from all the information I receive, that very few remain who are willing to return at once to the discharge of their duty. There will, however, always during the existence of the war be small parties to be forwarded who have escaped into Canada and who are anxious to rejoin the army. As these will generally consist of brave and enterprising men, I am trying to make some permanent arrangement to furnish them in the most economical way with the necessary means. For this purpose I propose to leave as much as five thousand dollars in the hands of B. Weir & Co., to carry interest until used, to defray these expenses; and to employ discreet and responsible persons in Montreal, Toronto, Hamilton, Saint Catherine, Windsor, and other points likely to be reached by our men, whose interest in the cause will induce them to take the requisite precautions to prevent imposition and to advance the price of transportation until reimbursed by Mr. Weir. Experience has shown us that our escaped prisoners are too improvident in general to be entrusted with money, and I am organizing a system by which tickets for transportation and necessary board to Halifax can be furnished them by our agents. The isolation, both commercial and political, of these Provinces, and the number of distinct lines over which the men must be passed, render this a tedious and somewhat troublesome task. As soon as it has been accomplished I shall return via Bermuda to the Confederacy.

I have the honor, &c.,

JAMES P. HOLCOMBE.

CLIFTON HOUSE, NIAGARA FALLS, C. W., August 11, 1864.

Hon. J. P. BENJAMIN, *Secretary of State, C. S. A.:*

Sir—Since my last dispatch I have visited all the points in Canada at which it was probable any escaped prisoners could be

found. I have circulated as widely as possible the information that all who desired to return to the discharge of their duty could obtain transportation to their respective commands within the Confederacy. For this purpose I have made arrangements with reliable gentlemen at Windsor, Niagara, Toronto and Montreal to forward such, as from time to time may require this assistance, as far as Halifax, from which point they will be sent by Messrs. Weir & Co. to Bermuda. The system thus organized will provide for the return of any ordinary average of escaped prisoners. If, however, any contingency should lead to the accumulation of a large number in Canada, some special arrangement, like that contemplated when I left Richmond, would be required. As events (to which it is scarcely prudent to refer) may soon transpire which would render this contingency by no means remote or improbable, I have deemed it my duty to defer my departure for a time. I feel the more confidence in my judgment from the fact that it has the concurrence of Messrs. Clay and Thompson. I have availed myself of the interim of every opportunity to co-operate with those gentlemen and think that I have been able to render useful service. My present expectation is to return in September.

A distinct communication from Mr. Clay and myself is sent by this mail.

With the highest respect, &c.,

JAMES P. HOLCOMBE.

Some Corrections of Sherman's Memoirs.

By Colonel A. R. CHISOLM, of General Beauregard's staff.

NEW YORK, May 6th, 1879.

To the Editor of the Southern Historical Society Papers:

Dear Sir—Having recently had occasion to read General Sherman's Memoirs, together with his evidence before the Committee upon the Conduct of the War, I feel called upon to make a record in your valuable pages of my personal knowledge of certain important historical transactions of which General Sherman has spoken and written at length—giving a version, as I am sure, contrary to the truth of history.

As a point in military history, it is deserving of particular attention that at Savannah—the end of his "march to the sea"—General Sherman lost an easy and brilliant opportunity of capturing Hardee's entire command of about 10,000 men, with that city. He writes ("Memoirs," page 284) that General Slocum "wanted to transfer a whole corps to the South Carolina bank" of the Savannah river, the object being to cut off Hardee's retreat! At this time Hardee's only line of retreat was by Screven's Ferry to a causeway on the South Carolina bank; he was without pontoon bridge or other means of getting away, relying only on three very small steamboats; and the only troops he had on the Carolina bank were a small force of light artillery and Ferguson's brigade of Wheeler's cavalry, numbering not more than 1,000 men. At this time General Beauregard's "Military Division of the West" embraced the department of Lieutenant-Generals Hood and Taylor, but not that of Lieutenant-General Hardee, although he had authority to bring the latter within his command, either at Hardee's request or at his own discretion in an emergency. He had arrived in Charleston, therefore, on December 7th, with a view of saving and concentrating the scattered Confederate forces in that region for some effective action against Sherman.

He telegraphed Hardee (December 8th), advising him to hold Savannah as long as practicable, but under no circumstance to risk the garrison, and to be ready for withdrawal to a junction with Major-General Samuel Jones at Pocotaligo, South Carolina. At Hardee's urgent request, Beauregard went to Savannah on the morning of the 9th. Finding no means prepared for the contingency of evacuation, he directed the immediate construction of a

pontoon bridge, with the plantation rice flats for pontoons, moored by old guns and car-wheels for anchors, and covered with flooring supplied by pulling down the wharves and wooden buildings. After giving a letter of instruction as to the plan of operations, indicating the contingency under which the movement should begin, he returned to Charleston. Instructions were also given for the most feasible defence of the causeway and road from Screven's Ferry. On the 14th Hardee telegraphed the General, stating the enemy's movements, his own doubts, and his desire in the emergency to have orders; and on the 15th he again telegraphed, urging the General to return and determine on the ground the actual time for the movement of evacuation and junction with Jones. Beauregard (whom I accompanied) arrived again in Savannah on the night of the 16th, after running the gauntlet of Foster's batteries near Pocotaligo, in a wagon, so as to save the railroad from obstruction by an unlucky shot at his train, and making, by like conveyances, the distance along which the railroad had been broken by Sherman near Savannah. He found the pontoon bridge only about one-third constructed, some of Wheeler's cavalry having destroyed a number of rice flats collected, supposing they had been gathered by Sherman for the crossing of the river. But the work was prosecuted with such vigor by Chief Engineer (Colonel) John G. Clarke, in person, that by daylight of the 19th the General found it all but completed—stretching from the city to Hutchinson's Island, over which a causeway was built; thence to Pennsworth Island, where another causeway was laid; thence across the Back river to a causeway which led over the swamps to the main land of the Carolina bank. Beauregard ordered the movement to be made that night, though accident delayed it until the night of the 20th, when by this route—the only exit from Savannah—Hardee was safely withdrawn, with field artillery, baggage and stores, and the bridge then destroyed. This was one of the neatest achievements of the war, rivaling in decision, resource and skill the celebrated evacuations of Corinth and of Morris' Island by the same commander. But, meanwhile, General Sherman, cautiously leaving his sixty thousand men concentrated on the Georgia bank of the river, had gone in person around by the sea to Hilton Head, in order to procure the assistance of Foster's army for the investment of Savannah from the Carolina bank. It is clear that had Slocum's suggestion been adopted, or had even the single brigade of his corps, which had crossed the river above Savannah, been

vigorously pushed against the thin line of Confederate pickets covering this causeway, all escape from Savannah must have been cut off. General Sherman saw his mistake too late, and, in his letter of December 24th, 1864, he excused himself to Halleck: "I feel somewhat disappointed at Hardee's escape, but really am not to blame. I moved as quickly as possible to close up the Union causeway, but intervening obstacles were such that before I could get troops on the road, Hardee had slipped out." The real point is, that disposing of an overwhelming force, his movement should have been a prompt and vigorous one to the rear of Savannah, and not a voyage to Hilton Head to borrow such a movement from General Foster. As to intervening obstacles, they consisted of some light artillery and a very thin line of that cavalry of which, in his letters, he sees fit to write in the most disparaging terms. In this case they seem to have sufficed to cover the retreat of about ten thousand men whom he should have captured!

To estimate General Sherman's error here, we must consider that the Confederate troops in Savannah formed the only substantial force then interposed, and the bulk of the only force afterward interposed between him and Grant. From a military point of view, therefore, this failure was of chief importance and might have led to grievous consequences, as in the event of a bold and rapid junction of a portion of Lee's army with the forces then assembling under Beauregard in order to strike a supreme, decisive blow against Sherman, and, if successful, then to concentrate all forces upon Grant—an operation which, with the advantage of interior lines, Beauregard had suggested to the Government as the only chance left to save the Confederacy.

General Sherman's report to the Committee on the Conduct of the War consists of his letters, orders, &c.—these being, as he says, the best report he could submit. His letters are, indeed, an industrious daily correspondence, full of interest to the military student, including those who fought against him; and from the date of Vicksburg, March 4th, 1864, to Saint Louis, November 21st, 1865, have all been carefully published by him, excepting his letters and orders during the four days between the date of "In the field opposite Columbia, South Carolina, February 16, 1865," and "In the field, Winsboro', South Carolina, February 21st, 1865," (pages 327, 328 of report). Why are these suppressed? In his "Memoirs" (page 287) he states that "the burning of Columbia [during this four days period] was accidental." Yet in the "cotton cases" it transpired

that General-in-Chief Halleck wrote him: "Should you capture Charleston, I hope by some accident the place may be destroyed; and if a little salt should be thrown upon its site, it may prevent the growth of future crops of nullification and secession"; and General Sherman replied from Savannah, December 24th: "I will bear in mind your hint as to Charleston, and do not think 'salt' will be necessary. When I move, *the Fifteenth corps will be on the right of the right wing, and their position will bring them naturally into Charleston first, and if you have watched the history of that corps, you will have remarked that they generally do their work pretty well.* The truth is, the whole army is burning with an insatiable desire to wreak vengeance upon South Carolina. I almost tremble at her fate, but feel that she deserves all that seems in store for her. I look upon Columbia as quite as bad as Charleston."* His army at this date numbered ("Memoirs," page 172) 62,204 men, exclusive of General Foster's army; the Confederate forces in that region embraced only Hardee's 10,000 troops in Savannah (one-half militia and reserves above the military age), and some 4,000 or 5,000 in South Carolina, all of them part of a desired main force which Beauregard in this strait was seeking to concentrate. Under such circumstances, Sherman's promise to Halleck was not difficult to carry out. General Sherman should not keep from the light his letters and orders of these four days, for surely their publication can show nothing worse than their suppression would infer. It is to be hoped, therefore, that in the discussion evoked by his book, he or his friends may yet fill this *hiatus* in a valuable series of daily letters and orders, which constitutes one of the completest detailed records in military history.

Respectfully yours,

ALEX. ROBERT CHISOLM.

* It is noteworthy that it was the Fifteenth corps which first entered Columbia.

The Battle of Williamsburg.

Narrative of Colonel BRATTON, Sixth South Carolina Regiment.

[The following paper was originally prepared for General E. P. Alexander, who kindly turned it over to us along with other valuable MSS.]

FARMINGTON, April 20, 1868.

Dear Sir—At your request, I submit the following account of the operations of my regiment at Williamsburg, May 5th, 1862.

The disposition of the brigade on the morning of that day was as follows: Jenkins' regiment (Palmetto sharpshooters) occupied Fort Magruder, and the Fourth and Fifth regiments the smaller works on either flank of the fort. My own regiment was posted on the edge of the pine grove in rear and to the left of the fort. A detachment of it (two companies) were sent to occupy the last redoubt but one on the line of redoubts to the left of Fort Magruder.

Feeling some responsibility resting on myself as to this flank, I reported the extreme left redoubt as unoccupied and suggested that I post at least a picket there, but was told that it was in charge of somebody else (cavalry perhaps). I gave myself no more concern about it until it was occupied by Hancock's troops, which occupation was announced to me by a cannon ball from the enemy's gun, which passed through my line and buried itself in the embankment of Fort Magruder. My regiment had been withdrawn by General Anderson from its first position and was lying behind the fort. I reported this dispatch from the enemy (cannon ball), and was ordered by Colonel Jenkins to my "original position to repel the attack of the enemy." On arriving at my original position, I saw the line of the enemy (four flags and a battery of six guns) advancing on a redoubt immediately in rear of the one occupied by my two companies. The fort on the extreme left, also, was full of troops huzzaing and waving United States colors.

No time was to be lost, for if they occupied the redoubt in rear my two companies were inevitably lost; so without orders I left my position at once and advanced on the redoubt towards which the enemy were moving. They were nearer to it than we were, but were advancing cautiously; were receiving a minnie occasionally from my companies in the neighboring work, and were evidently a little suspicious and afraid to believe that things were really as they appeared.

All this was to be seen at a glance, and I moved promptly and directly on the redoubt across the open field. My movement had the effect that I expected it to have—they halted, unlimbered their guns and serenaded us with shot and shell throughout our advance, and on our reaching the work their infantry opened on us as we entered it. They then retired their line to the crest of the hill and formed on both flanks of the work that they had taken. I extended a line of skirmishers from the redoubt occupied by my troops to some distance into the woods, and remained in this position watching and expecting them for some three hours, for I thought that they would surely discover my real strength in a short time and move down on me. I advised Colonel Jenkins of my movement and position, and expressed my confidence in being able to hold the two redoubts, but suggested that more troops be sent into the woods on my left. He sent a detachment of the Fourth regiment to reinforce me, and with it I extended my line of skirmishers still further into the woods on my left. The enemy, however, did not advance on me; but late in the evening our friends did—Early's brigade charged my works from the left and rear. Nobody, either officer or scout, had come to the front to reconnoitre, and they did not even know where the enemy were. They charged me (two regiments of them) across the line of the enemy, one regiment against each of the works that my troops occupied. I did not know that they were near until they emerged from the wood on the charge, and seeing their mistake I rushed out to stop them and change their direction before they were exposed to the fire of the enemy; but they would not heed, and on they went until they reached my redoubts, when they for the first time learned where the enemy were. Two of Early's regiments were stopped in the wood and proper direction given to them (the Twenty-fourth Virginia and Hoke's North Carolina regiment). The two that charged my works were the Fifth North Carolina and a Virginia regiment commanded by a Lieutenant-Colonel Early—a brother, I was told, of the General. The Fifth North Carolina charged across the entire front of the enemy to the redoubt occupied by my two companies, and on finding it already ours, with scarce a halt, changed direction and advanced most handsomely against the enemy (my two companies joining them in the charge) to within, I think, at least fifty yards of the enemy's line, when they encountered a small fence, partly torn down by the enemy, and unfortunately

halted and commenced firing. The Twenty-fourth Virginia had meanwhile emerged from the wood on the left, nearer to the enemy than my redoubt on which Early's regiment charged, and was moving in fine style upon them. Early's regiment never recovered from the confusion into which they were thrown by the taking of my works. They were formed, however, and started forward, but went obliquely to the left to the wood, and I saw no more of them. I met General Early near this redoubt, himself and horse both wounded, and told him that I had checked the enemy, and been there watching him for three or four hours, and asked him to give me a place in the charge. He said, "Certainly, go." I told him that some of my men were in that fort. He said, "Take them and go toward the enemy." I took my men out of the fort and moved them all forward into the gap left by the oblique movement of Early's regiment into the woods. We advanced to within a hundred yards of the enemy, when we were ordered by General D. H. Hill to move by the left flank into the wood. The Fifth North Carolina, on our right, as I said above, unfortunately stopped and commenced firing; I say unfortunately, because from the confused tangling of their muskets I shall ever believe that the enemy were actually broken (their fire, too, almost ceased), and it only required the continued advance of the Fifth North Carolina to complete their route. As it was, the crest of the hill protected the enemy from their fire, and they had time to recover from their panic, and return to the crest, and open fire, which they did, concentrating their overwhelming volleys on the Fifth North Carolina, and almost demolishing it. The Twenty-fourth Virginia on my left was not in time to engage them simultaneously with the Fifth North Carolina, and also met the concentrated fire of nearly the whole of the enemy's line, but being nearer to cover, did not suffer so terribly in retiring, but were completely used up, thus leaving my regiment advancing alone to share the same fate.

At this juncture, D. H. Hill, who was on the field, and not far from me, ordered me to move by the flank in the woods. I moved into the woods, and found a regiment that had not been in action drawn up, and was told that it was Hoke's regiment, North Carolina. I formed on it, and in a short time it was moved in retreat. I found D. H. Hill, and asked him if the orders were to retreat—that the regiment on which I had formed had moved back. He said that he had given no such orders, but that I had better move

with that regiment. We, following this regiment, withdrew from the field, and rejoining my brigade, took the position I had originally occupied in the morning. I have never, on any field during the war, seen more splendid gallantry exhibited than on that field of Williamsburg, but that splendid gallantry was thrown away and wasted by bad management, when it would have been entirely effective if properly directed. This was, I will add, the first and last time that I ever asked for a place in a charge—a pardonable folly, I hope, at that stage of the war.

The balance of Anderson's brigade was in Fort Magruder and the works about. They were more or less warmly engaged all day. About 9 or 10 o'clock A. M., General Anderson himself was put in command of troops on the right of Fort Magruder in the woods, where I am told that the severest fighting was done.

Very respectfully yours,

JOHN BRATTON.

Editorial Paragraphs.

THIS VOLUME OF OUR PAPERS will conclude with the *December* number, as we have determined to adopt the suggestion of many of our readers that we hereafter put twelve numbers into each volume, instead of six, as heretofore. This will lessen to our subscribers the cost of binding the numbers for the year, and will at the same time give a book of more convenient size.

OUR RELATIONS WITH THE "WAR RECORDS OFFICE" at Washington continue to be in the highest degree satisfactory.

General Marcus J. Wright and Mr. A. P. Tasker have again visited our office—this time spending two weeks in a careful examination of our records; and two accomplished copyists have been at work for a month making for the War Department copies of important official documents which it needs to complete its files. These gentlemen were hard at work during the whole time they were with us, and were more than ever impressed with the extent and value of our collection. On the other hand, we have received from General Townsend, Colonel Scott, General Wright, Mr. Tasker, and, in fact, every one connected with the War Records office, every courtesy and facility which we could desire.

We repeat again that our friends who have valuable documents ought to send them on *at once*. If you are not willing to give them, then by all means *lend* them to us, that copies may be made both for the Society and for the War Records office. We are hearing continually of the destruction (by fire and other causes) of valuable material which the owners *intended* to send us, and we beg that our friends will not run the risk of delay in forwarding what they have.

GENERAL GEORGE D. JOHNSTON, our efficient General Agent, has been doing some very effective work for the Society in New Orleans, and expects to go thence to canvass the chief cities and towns of Texas. Our gallant friend needs no commendation from this office, for his genial manners, manly bearing, and high character win for him hosts of friends wherever he goes. He is the most efficient agent we have ever known, and we are expecting large results from his canvass among his old comrades and new friends in the "lone Star State."

GENERAL J. R. CHALMERS, OF MISSISSIPPI, has kindly accepted our invitation to deliver the address before the Southern Historical Society at our annual meeting in Richmond the last of October next. Besides his splendid war record, General Chalmers is an accomplished orator, and we are anticipating an address of both historic value and popular power.

THE TIME OF A NUMBER OF OUR SUBSCRIBERS expires with this issue, and we beg that they will RENEW AT ONCE, and allow us to continue to make them our monthly visits. Either send us your subscription, authorize us to draw on you, or notify us that you *will do so very soon.*

Book Notices.

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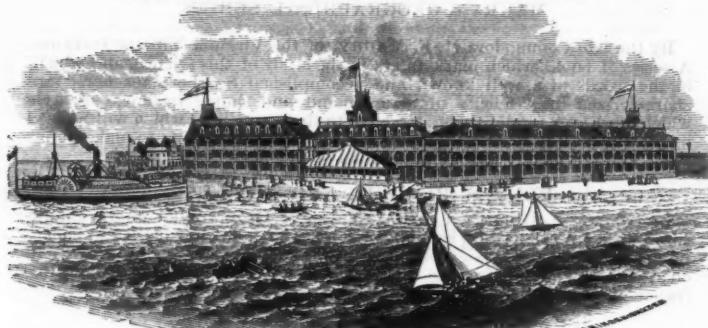
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